

A
SECOND LETTER
FROM
The FARMER,
TO THE
FREE and INDEPENDENT CITIZENS of
DUBLIN.



DUBLIN:
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SECOND LETTER

THE BARON



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A SECOND

LETTER

FROM

The FARMER, &c.

WORTHY BROTHERS!

IN my last Letter, Page 6, I represented to you, that, You are now upon the Eve of the most critical Event, of the most important and interesting Period of Time, that hath happened since the glorious Revolution. That two Seats are vacant to your City in Parliament; and that it is not now the Question, whether a *Charles* or a *Samuel*, a *Latouche* or a *Burton*, whether this Man or that Man shall be chosen. That the Tryal is, between *Power* and *Patriotism*. That the Combat is to be fought between our *Potentates* and our *People*; between *Interest* and *Integrity*; between *Influence* and *Virtue*.

THOUGH this Subject, in the Greatness of its Consequence, demanded my Application and your Attention intire; I was, for the Time, diverted from it, by a Matter of less Weight, but of more immediate Concern to your City.

I now return; and lest any should apprehend, that this Combat is to be fought with the Arm of Flesh, I now apprize you both of the Scene and the Parties to the Battle.

THE Scene of the Combat, to which I exhort you, is situated in your own Bosom alone; and the Parties drawn up in Array, are *Prejudice, Partiality, Favour; Appetite, Avarice, Venality; Bribery, Corruption, Slavery*; with a numerous Host of Attendants: against *Candour, Honour, Uprightness; Sobriety, Magnanimity, Probity; Fortitude, Impassability, Liberty!* Your Country and your Posterity attending in the Rear, all-anxious and dependent on the Issue of the Conflict.

THROUGHOUT most of our former Elections, the first of these *Parties* hath been indisputably triumphant: Few Abettors of Patriotism shewed their Face; and if any Opposition was given, if any Blow was struck, it was generally by *Interest* against *Interest*, by *Influence* against *Influence*. But the House of *Iniquity* is now no longer divided against itself; they have got Intelligence of your *new levied Forces*; they see your *Virtues arrayed against them*; they tremble for their Seat and their Principality; their whole Powers are united and stimulated to the Battle; and it is therefore, I say, that this Period of Time is the most *critical*, the most *important*, the most *interesting*, that hath happened since the glorious Revolution.

THE Day of this Tryal, my Countrymen, is what my Eyes never hoped to look upon; I rejoice that it

is now at Hand ; and though the Forces on our Side should prove unequal to the Enterprize, it will be a Glory in our Favour, beyond a Conquest in theirs, that we struggled for *Truth*, and contended for *Liberty*.

As the happy or unhappy Issue of this Conflict depends upon the Evidence of the Depravity or Integrity of the Combatants, and that it is the Proof of this Distinction which constitutes the Importance of the Trial : It is from the Merits of the *Electors* and not of the *Elected*, it is from the Virtues of the *Represented* and not of the *Representatives*, that we chiefly hope to derive such Consequences, as will give the promised Advantages to our own Country, and the promised Precedent to other Climes.

It is therefore, I have said, that it is not now the Question, whether a *Charles* or a *Samuel*, a *Latouche* or a *Burton*, whether *this Man* or *that Man* shall be chosen. With respect to two of these Candidates, you alone can best judge by their past Services and tried Talents, what Fruits you are to look for from their future *Conduct* and *Capacity*. I further believe, with respect to the other two Gentlemen, that there are many among You, who, from Experience, can speak highly in their personal Favour.

BUT what may this avail them? were they not *Aldermen*, were they not incorporated with *Men* who have *encroached* upon your *Charters* and *usurped* upon your *Rights*; to me it is sufficient Objection that, in a Cause where *Interest* ought to be wholly an *Alien*, they are supported by *Wealth* and *Power*, and abetted by *People in Authority*; and I rather wish to see you betrayed by a Person impartially elected, than served by the Instruments of your Venality and Corruption

Corruption. It is surely better, my *Brothers*, to deserve Success, than even to obtain it at the Price of our own Demerits.

IN this Opposition, however, I am very far from desiring to stir You up into any Animosity against *One of your Fellow Citizens*; and still less, to inspire you with *Envy*, or *Indignation* against your Superiors, against Those, whom Providence, the Laws, and the necessary Order of Society have placed in due Station, and in Authority over You.

THE Distinctions of Subordination, in every State, are as requisite, as the Relations, in a private Family, between *Parents* and *Children*, *Masters* and *Servants*; and all Constitutions, that have been framed with any Success, or Tendency to good Government, are no other than the orderly Imitations of Nature.

THESE *political Systems*, however varied, still bear some Resemblance to *natural Proportion*, to the Root, the Stem and the Branches, or to the Head, the Bowels and the Members, where the *Parts*, by a pleasing Gradation, are so intimately united, that they form but one intire and beautiful *Whole*. From the due *Connection* arises *Symmetry*, and from the Symmetry *Life* and *Action*, *Health* and *Happiness* must result; till some Member or Portion is *damaged*, or that the Whole is assailed, by such *outward Force*, or *inward Distemperature*, as may threaten a *total Dissolution*.

COMPARISONS of this Nature are of very ancient Authority; there is no One among You who hath not heard of the Likeness between a *Natural Body* and *political Body*; and in the early Days of old Rome, a popular and favourite Orator, applied the notorious Fable

Fable of the *Belly* and the *Members*, in order to reduce the *Plebeians*, of that City to a Sense of their *Duty*. This he happily effected. Permit me also to make use of the like Allusion, in order to reduce the *Commoners* of this City, to a Sense of their *Rights*.

I WILL suppose, in the political Constitution of this Kingdom, that our *serene Sovereign* represents the *Head*; our *Parliament* the intermediate *Heart* and *Bowels*; and we of the *Vulgar* the inferior *Limbs* and *Extremities*, no small nor useless *Portion* of this great and intimate *Whole*.

Now, in all natural Bodies, the Parts, according to their several Degrees, have their several Offices and Functions assigned them, which no other Part hath a right to encroach upon, which they ought not to be permitted to invade.

I HAVE indeed seen Men stand on their Heads, and walk on their Hands, and I have heard of One who penned a learned Treatise with his Toes; such like Inversions of Nature may be Matter of Curiosity, but they can never tend to due Action or Advantage. It is, therefore, as much the Duty, of every Part and Parcel of the Body, to claim and adhere to its own especial Province and Privilege; as it is its Duty to forbear intruding upon the Province of its Neighbour.

For instance. It is the Prerogative and the Duty of the *Head*, to direct the whole Body; to receive Intelligence, from every Part, but more particularly from the Feelings of the Heart and Bowels, of all Wants, Grievances and Satisfactions; and, agreeable to this Intelligence, to issue its Mandates, according to the *right Reason* or *Law* of the particular

lar Constitution. Further. It is the Province and the Duty, of the inferior *Hands and Feet*, to travel and to labour for the Advantage of the whole Body, and under the Direction of the said *Law or right Reason*, to *provide, choose, and send up* to the Stomach and Bowels, such Supplies and Recruits, as may again return proper Spirits, Blood, and Aliment, throughout the whole System. Lastly. It is the Province and the Duty of the *Stomach, Bowels, and Heart*, to yearn and to feel, even for the most minute and outward Extremities of the Body; to receive and give up all Intelligence to the Head; to relish and digest what alone is healthful for the Constitution; and to dispense and promulgate such beneficial Appointments, as may enable the inferior Members, to encrease in Action and in Industry.

If every Part of this Body was not thus prescribed, and especially limited to its peculiar Rights and Duties; no one Part could be said to enjoy to itself, what its Neighbour might have the Privilege to encroach upon: But where each is duely confined within its proper Sphere of Action, no one hath any thing to apprehend from the Intrusion of another; every Part grows more expert in the Discharge of its particular Functions; this very *Distinction* preserves the *Unity*, as well as the Harmony of the System; from this *Assurance of Enjoyment* to each, *true Happiness* accrues to the Whole; and from this *divided Connection*, this *dependent Independence*, there can alone result to All, Life, Health and *perfect Liberty*.

To conclude with this simple but just Analogy; If the *Stomach and Bowels*, should have a *Desire and Craving* after such particular *Supplies of Food*, as might prove *unwholesome and poisonous* to the whole
Frame

Frame. If, on this occasion, they should presume to dictate to the Hands, to send up such *Recruits* as would be agreeable to their *irregular Appetites*. If, in some *depraved Body*, this unhappy *Influence* should prevail, and that the Hands should submit to such *illicit Direction*. I shall not hesitate to assert that the Hands, so *influenced*, would alike prove *Traytors* to themselves, and *corrupted Instruments* of Mischief to the whole Constitution.

WHEREFORE, my *Friends*, as on one Side, I wish you never to *transgress* your proper Limits ; so, on the other, I exhort you, that you may not permit your own to be *invaded*. You are not the *Stomach* or the *Bowels* ; you are not appointed to be the *Framers* of Laws, or the *Issuers* of Ordinances : But, neither do I wish, that those who are in *Power* and in *Parliament*, should *influence* You to remit them such *Supplies*, as would suit their *Appetites*, more than your own *Interest*.

THIS is the only *Point*, on which I desire to inspire you, with any Spirit of *Opposition*. Let those in *Authority* be content with their *high Station*, and not stoop to encroach upon our *inferior Province*. We want not to pull down the *Mighty* from their Seats, but to exalt the *Worthy* though of *low Degree*. This is our *Prerogative*, this is our *Duty*. It is a *Function*, of which, the present Times and Posterity, our King and our Constitution, our Country and our God, demand an impartial *Discharge*. It is a *Right* which the *Great* have ever condescended to *invade* ; and this *Invasion* was a *Wrong*, to which the *Little* have almost, universally *submitted*. Separate yourselves from among such *Prostitutes* ! Stand forth as the *Chosen* of *Truth* and *Liberty* ! And let Unbelievers, for once, be convinced, that *Power* may be unequal

to *Patriotism*, that *Interest* may yield to *Integrity*, and that *Influence* may be conquered by *Virtue*.

WHEN I advise and beseech you to preserve Yourself, in the above State of *Integrity* and *Independence*; I advise you to the only Means that can possibly attain that *Prosperity*, which must attend on *Freedom* to your Country, and that *Happiness*, which must attend on conscious *Merit*, to Yourself.

THIS State of *Independence*, to which I exhort you, hath nothing in it either of the Cloyster, or the Hermitage; it doth not dissuade you from one innocent Injoyment, neither doth it seclude you from a single Office of Humanity; God forbid! — In every endearing Commerce between Man and Man, it is *Blessed to give, it is Blessed also to receive*. This Kind of *Dependence* makes every Want sacred which *Friendship* or *Charity* can supply. On the very Trespasses and Frailties of our fellow Creatures, it erects our own Feelings of Pardon and Compassion. It is the *Knot of Love* that ties the whole Community of Man. It is the *Chain* that holds and binds the Universe together.

BUT that State of *Independence*, to which I would persuade you, is merely an *Independence* from all Kinds of *evil Influence*, either of *Guilt* as Men, or of *Corruption* as Members of Society. This *evil Influence* commences where Appetite passes the Bounds of Temperance and Reason; undue *Appetite* begets *Want*, *Want* begets *Temptation*, and *Temptation* begets *Iniquity*. When the private Man is thus debauched, the public Member of Society is not far from *Pollution*. The natural Cravings are obvious to political *Bait*; private *Depravity* begets public *Corruption*, and public *Corruption* begets national *Slavery*.

THIS

THIS is the natural Course, and inevitable Consequence of Things. Where the *Members* are tainted, the *Body* cannot be free from *Pollution*. Almost all *Men* have yielded to *Corruption*; it is therefore that almost all *Nations* have been subjected to *Slavery*.

Is there no *Remedy* for this epidemic *Distemper*? there is, my dear Countrymen, but it lies remote from Practice. We must go back to the Fountain from whence the Mischief flowed. We must delve to the very Root from whence these noxious Excreffencies proceeded. We must oppose *Temperance* to *Appetite*, and *Industry* to *Want*. These indeed would prove salutary and effectual *Medicines*. They would do more than restore us. By abridging our Appetites, our *Temperance* would be *Luxury*; by lessening our Wants, our *Industry* would be *Affluence*. This is the *Independence* that would make us truly free; this is the true *Freedom* that would make us valiant, virtuous, and happy. Nor, with these Blessings, would we want *Dignities* of the highest *Exaltation*, even *Triumphs*, to which few *Conquerors* have attained; a *Dominion*, to which even *Kings* are subject, that of our own *Appetites*, and of our own *Passions*.

HERE would be a *Dignity* and *Dominion*, which *Wealth* would never envy, and which *Power* would permit us to enjoy in *Safety*; since no one grudgeth that to another, which he coveteth not to himself.

NEITHER would this *Independence*, to which I have exhorted you, be productive of *Benefits* to ourselves alone: Our *Superiors* would also derive extraordinary *Advantages* from thence. For as we are equally *Idolaters* of *Wealth* and *Station*, whether attained by vicious or by worthy *Means*, whether disgraced by *De-*

merit or dignified by *Virtue*; it is our *servile Dependence* that supports *unjust Power*; our *stupid Admiration* that gives the Glare to *false Honours*; it is from our *abject Attendance*, that *Office* derives its *Insolence*; from the *Baseness* of our *Homage*, that *Wealth* borrows its *Pride*. But would we be *temperate*, would we be *industrious*, would we be *independent* of our *irregular Appetites*, would we be *naturally* and *truly Great*. This borrowed Plumeage would of itself fall from *Grandeur*; the *Crest* of *Pride* would *sink*; *Station* would learn *Ease*; *Riches* would be taught *Moderation*; *Insult* would vanish from *Office*, and *Audaciousness* from the Eye of an *Irish Landlord*; we might then look up to *Dignity*, without *Diffidence* or *Idolatry*; and draw down to ourselves the *Regards* of *Deference* and *Respect*.

As all Men have naturally some Tincture of *Avarice* and *Ambition*, I am pleased, that what the World calls *Pomp* and *Place*, are situated so distant from our *Expectation*; and that the *Temptation*, as well as the *Poison* of those *alluring Baits*, are happily removed both from our *Reach* and from our *Prospect*. We are hereby reduced, to the *more ennobling Necessity*, of seeking those *Dignities* within ourselves, which we should vainly attempt by any outward Pursuit.

I ADMIT, that these *internal Treasures* and *Distinctions*, are of a very different Nature from those, which most of our *Superiors* possess; and yet they are such, as have, heretofore, been deemed superior in themselves to all other Possessions; even *Temperance* and *Industry*, the Fruits whereof are sweet, *Integrity* which we will hold fast, and *Truth* which we will not barter for *Diamonds* and *Rubies*.

THESE were, once, the sole *Treasures* and *Distinctions* of the greatest Nations on this Globe; they
were

were the only *Pride* and the only *Pillars* of *Sparta* and of *Rome*, on this Foundation they built their former Grandeur, and hence alone they derive their endless Glory. Why may not the same Causes produce equal Effects? why may we not build up our *Country* with equal Materials? but if such a blissful Consequence of our *Virtues* is denied us; they will, at least, be to ourselves in the Place of *Patrons* and *Preferments*. They will be a *Garment* that cannot be worn out, a *Fund* that cannot be spent, a *Feast* that will always relish; they will be *Courage* in Danger and Distress, kind *Companions* in Solitude, and in Death *Life* everlasting.

As I shall come hereafter to unfold at full the *Nature* of *Elections*, and from thence to enlarge on the *Duties* of *Electors*; I will then demonstrate to you, that this *Privilege* is the most *valuable*, the most *interesting*, and the most *important*, of all the *Rights* and *Possessions* of a free Subject. That this is the most *sacred* of all *social Duties*, the most *religious* of all *moral Obligations*. Alas! how often *prostituted*, how generally *profaned*!

I HAVE, now, but barely time, to touch these Subjects as I pass: If your Adversaries, who, on this Occasion, would gladly make a *Jest* of your *Integrity*, and turn your *Virtues* into *Ridicule*, if they will admit, I say, that there was any Thing in this *Institution*, originally intended, beyond a mere Matter of *Farce* and *Festival*; what can they alledge to withhold you from the Observance? If it is our *Duty*, shall we not perform it? if our *Country* prefers her *Claim*, shall we be deaf to her *Demands*? can any Man avow his *Honesty*, while he openly *defrauds* his Creditors? can any Man pretend to *Honour*, while he publickly *betrays* his Trust?

If, a justly scrupulous, and pious Man, shall scarce pardon himself a sinful Wish or Inclination; what must the Guilt of that Wretch be, whose *Sin* is a *Plague* or *Contagion*, wilfully spread, and communicated through a Nation. The *Guilt* of the *Prostitute-Elector* is yet more fatal in its Consequences, more extensive in its Effects; it descends to Those unborn, and widens through Posterity.

ADMIT, that general *Practice* may be pleaded against good *Precepts*; will Custom give a Sanction to Evil? will Prescription alter the Nature of Things? or can Precedent give us a Right to elude our own Conscience, and rebel against the apparent Dictates of Truth?

If *Manners* and *Habits* are said to descend from Courts, and to flow down from the *Great* as from their proper Fountain. If *Fashions*, however corrupt, have taken their Rise above us. Let us, my Countrymen, for once have the Ambition and the Spirit, to begin one *Fashion* among ourselves. Let us dare to put on this *Habit of Virtue*, and give some of our Superiors a *Precedent*, which, perhaps, on the Account of the Novelty, they might be ashamed of themselves to commence.

IF *Vice* is the *Mode*, what is that to us? Shall an honest down right Citizen, or Countryman, be ashamed, because his rustic Coat is not cut after the *Taste*, or his plain *Morals* trimmed after the *Times*? If we permit ourselves to be divested of these our honest Garments; will Those who strip Us, in return, lend us their *Robes* and their *Ornaments*? even so, we should be still left in *Poverty* and in *Nakedness*. For what may a Man take in Exchange for his Integrity? What can

can it profit him to gain the whole World, if he loses himself.

BUT, some *Electors* may say, they are already engaged, by *Obligation*, by *Gratitude*, by *Friendship*, by *Interest*. They are *Dealers*, such a Man is their *Customer*. He is their *Creditor*, they are therefore his *Slaves*. Or, perhaps, they have been *solicited*, *surprized*, or *shamed* into a *Promise*; they are Men of *Honour*, their *Promise* is their *Bond*, a *Judgment* entered against them.

BUT what is all this? an *Obligation* of a *Hair's Retention*, a *Tie* of *rotten Thread*; in comparison of the *previous Chains*, and *Cables* of *Nature*, of *Truth*, of *Liberty*, of our *Country*. Shall an *Attachment* to one Man, to a simple *Unit* among *Milions*, burst and cancell the *Debts* and *Obligations* to *Mankind*? Is it the *Candidate's Interest* or *Emolument* that is sought? Is that the *Purpose* of his *Election*? Is it a *Matter* of *private Concern* to the *Elector* or *Elected* alone?

No, my Brethern, the *Concern* is *public*, and such ought your *Search* and your *Election* to be.

REMEMBER, my Countrymen, that while *Samson* retained his *Integrity*, such like *Cords* of *Philistine Slavery* were to him but as *singed Towe*. But when he became *leagued* in *Vice*, and *debauched* into *Affinity* with the *Enemies* of *Israel*; he was speedily *shorn* of his *Strength* and of his *Virtue*. He was *bound*, he was *blinded*, and appointed to the *Drudgery* of the *Ass*, and to the *Burden* of the *Camel*.

The End of the SECOND LETTER.

can it profit him to gain the whole World if he lose himself.

BUT, some Eliters may say, they are already engaged by Obligation, by Contract, by Interest. They are Dealers, such a man is their Customer. He is their Customer, they are therefore his. Or perhaps, they have been interested, purchased, or bound into a Promise; they are Men of Honor; their Promise is their Bond, a Judgment entered against them.

BUT what is all this? an Obligation of a Man's Religion, a tie of some Thread, in comparison of the various Obligations, and Cables of Nature, of Society, of Honor, of our Country. Shall an Attachment to a single Unit among Millions, bind and cancel the Debt and Obligations to Millions? Is it the Cause of a single Interest or Attachment that is fought? Is that the Purpose of his Election? Is it a Matter of private Concern to the Elector or Elected alone?

No, my Brethren, the Concern is public, and such ought your Search and your Election to be.

REMEMBER, my Countrymen, that while George retained his Integrity, such like Cards of Politicians were to him but as forged Passes. But when he became leagued in Vice, and debauched into Affinity with the Enemies of Israel; he was speedily lost of his Strength and of his Virtue. He was bound, he was blinded, and appointed to the Yoke of the Ass, and to the Burden of the Camel.

The End of the SECOND LETTER.